THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

ROUND TABLE

A Radio Discussion of

The Challenge to Local Government

A SERIES ON

DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT IN CRISIS

W. H. BLUCHER · M. C. KRUEGER · W. W. WYATT

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ROUND TABLE

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NOTE

The supplementary information contained in the footnotes to the following text, developed by staff research, is not to be considered as representing the opinions of the ROUND TABLE *speakers. Following the transcript of the broadcast are questions which readers may wish to use for analysis and discussion. It is hoped that teachers and discussion leaders may find this additional service of the* ROUND TABLE *transcript helpful in their study of the subject discussed in the broadcast.*

The Challenge to Local Government

A UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO ROUND TABLE BROADCAST*

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WALTER H. BLUCHER, Executive Director, the American Society of Planning Officials

MAYNARD C. KRUEGER, Department of Economics, University of Chicago

WILSON W. WYATT, Mayor, Louisville, Kentucky

(*See pages 22–23 for further information*)

* A radio discussion broadcast from the University of Chicago, over stations of the National Broadcasting Company, Sunday, November 29, 1942, at 1:30 P.M., Central War Time.

The ROUND TABLE, oldest educational program continuously on the air, is broadcast entirely without a script, although participants meet in advance, prepare a topical outline, and exchange data and views. Subjects are chosen because of their social, political, or economic significance. The program has no "ax to grind." In the selection of speakers, the effort is to provide a balanced discussion by participants who have special competence and knowledge. The opinion of each speaker is his own and in no way involves the responsibility of either the University of Chicago or the National Broadcasting Company.

The Challenge to Local Government

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Actually, there are over one hundred and sixty-five thousand American governments at war with the Axis, for, in the United States, there are at the present time that many various governmental units which serve the American public. What is the background for this wide divergence of government responsibility? Is it necessary today? How can we reallocate duties and powers among the federal, state, and local governments in order to achieve the most efficient and workable relationship?

Is local government challenged by the increase of federal power? Is this a wartime exigency or a permanent trend? How will local governments which have assumed increased activities in wartimes be affected when peace comes? Should they now be planning for post-war times? Should local government assume a larger role in a program of social action which has so far been largely carried out by the federal government? Can we get more government "by the people," in contrast to the paternalism of government "for the people," through improved local government?

To discuss the problems involved in "The Challenge to Local Government," the University of Chicago ROUND TABLE *opened its microphones to three expert observers.*

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MR. KRUEGER: Certainly the subject of local government is a dry one. Most people know it is. Do you think there's any way that local government could be made an interesting subject?

MR. WYATT: I think it not only can be made an interesting subject; I think that it is one.

After all, democratic government is in crisis all over the world. As we all know, we have several million Americans in uniform. They're fighting on all fronts and fighting to preserve democracy—American democracy. Certainly that should be sufficient to make local government more interesting than ever before in the history of the country.

MR. BLUCHER: There is a real challenge to local government and local autonomy. If we look abroad at the countries where dictatorships have been established, we will find that for the most part local government and local autonomy have disappeared.

MR. KRUEGER: That's true. In Japan, in Italy, in Germany, in every country where dictatorship has developed, local control over local affairs has disappeared. So local government is certainly a part of the crisis of democratic government all over the world.

But is that just a crisis that arises in time of war?

MR. WYATT: No. I think it is a crisis, viewed by most people, as existing for some time. People are constantly saying that local government is threatened. Well, threatened by just whom?

MR. BLUCHER: Isn't it true that this is a crisis not only of the war but a crisis which developed before the war and which will be an even greater crisis after the war?

MR. KRUEGER: I don't think that there's any doubt about that. The crisis in local government goes back a long, long way. It increased during the depression—not from the time of the New Deal on but from 1929 on—and what the war does is simply to intensify the tendencies that were already there.

When we speak of a crisis in local government or a challenge to local government, what is it that we mean? Do we mean that the autonomy of local government is being taken away, or do we mean that it's losing its administrative functions?

MR. WYATT: Certainly it's not losing its administrative functions. Actually, its administrative functions have been materially increased, not only during the war, which has been a very abnormal time with a very abnormal increase, but also back at the beginning of the decade to which you just referred. But with this increase of administrative functions I think local government actually is being strengthened. I don't think it's been weakened.

MR. KRUEGER: Then, if we're going to approach the problems of local government in this fundamental kind of a way, I take it we're not just going to sit around this ROUND TABLE and say that local government will be saved by honest men?

MR. BLUCHER: No, I don't think we're going to discuss what I would call "immaterial" subjects.

MR. KRUEGER: Honesty is an immaterial subject?

MR. BLUCHER: We all agree that honesty is a very fine thing, and we all expect honesty in government; but there are more important problems, such as the real challenges that might be offered, let us say, by the federal government or the state or challenges by disinterest of the people in local governments.

MR. KRUEGER: Several of our listeners have shown an interest in that question.

ANNOUNCER: *Here are two sharply different letters from* ROUND TABLE *listeners:*

The first charges that the bureaucracy in Washington is too big, too powerful, too unwieldy. Federal power is destroying local government.

The second letter insists that local governments are on the downgrade. They are simply branch offices, carrying out national policies. People who talk about states' rights seem to forget that the federal government has done more for the common man than any local government ever did by itself.

Which of these two letters do you think is more nearly on the right track?

Mr. Blucher: I think they're both wrong. I am sure that if we look at the facts we will find that they are both wrong.

But I would like to raise one issue before looking at the facts. In these letters they talk about federal government. Don't we sometimes mistake federal government? We think it is a bogeyman, brought in from the outside—something foreign to us. Isn't the federal government you and I? Isn't the federal government Krueger, multiplied by a hundred and thirty million, or all three of us multiplied by forty million?

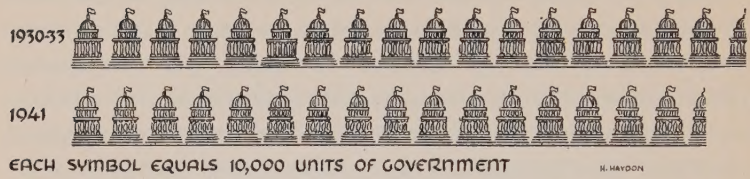
Mr. Krueger: I'd feel a lot better if it were that. But if you mean that everybody's involved in the federal government, that's right. But that's a platitude. Sure, everybody's involved in the federal government; everybody's involved in the state government; everybody's involved in some kind of a county or a city government. But where do you go from there?

Mr. Wyatt: Yes, but I think that Mr. Blucher has a point there. After all, when we're constantly talking about the federal government and what it's doing to encroach on the sphere of local government, too frequently we're thinking about it being something very far away and something very much removed from ourselves. Too frequently we're thinking about it the way we think about the common man's being a man we don't know, when actually the common man is you, and it's Blucher, the man on the elevator, the person in the office—it's all of us. I think that's true of the federal government. In other words, the federal government is the government of the American people, and we make it what it is.

Mr. Krueger: Sure, that's true. We're all here, and we're all going to be here, and we'll be involved in all these different types of government. But that leaves the challenge. That leaves the question: Is local government being threatened by the increase of federal power?

You were saying a moment ago that the administrative functions of local government have been increasing?

TOTAL UNITS OF GOVERNMENT 1930–33 AND 1941*



* The total for 1930–33 equals 175,418 units; for 1941 it is 165,049. From William Anderson, *The Units of Government in the United States* ("Public Administration Service Publications," No. 83 [Chicago, 1942]), p. 2.

Mr. Wyatt: Yes, they've undoubtedly been increasing; but I think just at the outset I might make this point clear (and I think both of you will agree with me on this) that, in talking about the challenge of local government, we are not talking about the challenge of local government to take the war away from the national government. Certainly I for one think that the local government should do everything it possibly can to cooperate with the federal government. After all, war is a federal matter, and it's a federal government control. Many things are being done now by the federal government that I think will not be done when the war is over.

Mr. Blucher: There are some people who say that local administrative powers are decreasing, particularly in view of the war powers turned over to the federal government. If we look at the facts in that case, we will see that local powers have been increasing.

Mr. Krueger: What is the evidence on that point?

Mr. Blucher: Look at the situation in our own communities. The man who has the difficult task of determining how much oil I shall burn during the wintertime is my neighbor. The man who has the equally difficult task of determining whether I, or my neighbor's son, shall enter the Army through Selective Service is my neighbor. The person who determines whether I should have an "A"

or a "B" ration book for gasoline—that person, man or woman, is my neighbor.

MR. KRUEGER: You mean that here is a federal program on rationing and a federal program on Selective Service in which policy is nationally determined but in which the administration is local, and the local boards are appointed, then, by local mayors and local governors.

MR. WYATT: That's exactly right, and that's exactly where I think local government has entered into a very much better sphere and has become very much stronger.

Take the example of civilian defense. There is a national policy that was determined by the national government, but we don't have bureaus carrying it out. Way back in December and January, I can remember at mayors' meetings when people were shouting, "Where's the leadership from Washington? Why don't they tell us what to do?" Then local governments realized (and I'm referring not just to mayors but also to governors and all local governments) that it was their job—that the national pattern had been mentioned, and, having been designated, the local governments started carrying it out.

MR. KRUEGER: I can see why it would be interesting to local mayors and governors to have the power of appointing all those people on the boards. They would find that very convenient.

But how important is all that to the people themselves?

MR. BLUCHER: I think it's very important in this respect: First, there is all this conversation to the effect that local government is losing its power. As a matter of fact, in spite of the amount of power that we have given to the federal government, we have actually increased the administrative duties of local government.

What is more, we have brought local government down to its very lowest level, to the people, not only in the community but living in the neighborhood—to our neighbors.

Mr. Wyatt: We've brought the people into the local government in a way that probably has never happened before in the history of this country.

Mr. Krueger: I'll agree with you that the administrative functions of local government have been increasing. Federal functions have also been increasing, but not largely at the expense of the municipalities.

There is another point that I think is in some ways more important. People say that local governments are losing their power chiefly, I think, because the federal government has taken over the responsibility for most of the financing. As far as I can see, the federal financing of these local programs is not at all at odds with local control of those programs. Would you agree on that?

Mr. Blucher: I like to look at the facts again. What is the situation? What federal controls have been exercised in giving money to localities?

One of the best-known federal grants has been in the way of highways. In 1936 the federal government turned over to the states approximately two hundred and fifty million dollars. What controls were exercised? It was the state highway departments that determined where the highways should be built and what highways were necessary. The federal government merely set certain standards as to construction and location with respect to the federal highway system.

There are many other cases—the situation in relief, for example.

Mr. Wyatt: I think that you're quite right when you're talking about the inanimate things—the bridges and underpasses and overpasses and school buildings and hospital buildings and things of that kind. Then, I think, the fact that the money comes from the federal government isn't a threat to the local government.

But I do think that when the federal government (or the state government, for that matter) puts local government on an "allow-

ance," so to speak, then it's getting into a type of paternalism that is actually going to be very dangerous. Certainly I think it will be a threat to what one might call the autonomy or the political existence of local government.

MR. KRUEGER: There seems to be some agreement here that this states' rights business and local rights business is pretty much of a straw man and that the main threat to local government doesn't seem to come from the increase of federal power.

But let me point this out. The major problems that have been coming up—unemployment or the operation of the manpower problem during the war—those problems have to be handled on a national basis.

It seems to me that what the mayors and the governors have been doing lately is this: They squawk about states' rights and local rights, on the one hand, and then they climb on the bandwagon, and each of them tries to get the biggest cut out of Washington that they possibly can when any money is being divided up. That, it seems to me, has really reduced the prestige of local government in the eyes of its own people. I think local government is really on the downgrade.

MR. BLUCHER: I think the objection that has been raised by local government and local government officers to national activities is not so much to Social Security and such national issues but really to the federal government's coming in on what local government officials think are local issues. I see no objection at all in going to Washington on what you call the "bandwagon," asking for a handout, because it isn't a handout. This money which is being spent in Washington isn't federal money. It's our money. It's local money.

You also say that you think local government is on the downgrade. I object. I disagree with you. I think that local government, if anything, is on the upgrade.

Mr. Wyatt: I think somewhat as you do there, and I disagree with Mr. Krueger on the idea that it's on the downgrade.

I can see how people might say it is on the downgrade from the relative standpoint. After all, just as Mr. Krueger has said, there has been a great addition to government in this country. The overall bundle of government is bigger than it used to be. Since the addition to the bundle has been largely in the national sphere, the national government, relatively, has become more important. Actually I don't think that things have been taken away from the local government that traditionally they have exercised.

Mr. Krueger: No, I don't think so, but I don't think that's the main point. If these cities and states simply stand still and perform their good old functions, they're going to lose control over even those functions.

I don't think there's any doubt at all that people's eyes are far more on Washington than they ever have been before and less on city hall and less on the state house than ever before. What that's likely to lead to is the kind of centralization of power in which there will no longer be any local autonomy.

Mr. Wyatt: I think right there I agree with you that the more we have centralization on the national level and the more we have vast areas of government and large bureaus in the national government, the less we have government "by the people" and the more we have it merely "for the people"—a sort of paternalistic government.

Mr. Krueger: Don't you regard that as a dangerous development?

Mr. Wyatt: I regard it as very dangerous, and, of course, carried to its logical extreme it could mean the defeat of American democracy as we have it.

Mr. Krueger: Several years ago I heard an Italian Fascist claiming that Italy was a democracy. When asked what was meant

by Italy's being a democracy, she gave a definition of it—a definition in which she paraphrased Abraham Lincoln and said: "In Italy there is government 'of the people, for the people' "—spectacularly leaving out the "by the people," which, it seems to me, is the essence of democracy.

If we're talking about a practical problem here, our problem is: How do local people keep autonomy and control over what are really local affairs?

MR. BLUCHER: Isn't that the crux of the problem? Both of you gentlemen seem to agree that government by the people is just as important as government for the people. Then the question is: How are we going to get more government by the people? Can we do it through the improvement of local government?

MR. KRUEGER: One of the first things I think that we have to do is to decide what properly are local functions and what properly are federal functions. The cities and states are simply sitting around, leaving the initiative entirely to the national government on all matters of social reform.

MR. WYATT: Right there I think is a strong point. All of us are likely to make the mistake of taking it as the state government versus the national government versus the local government and to pose one as against the other. Actually, it seems to me that, with the passing of the old means of transportation and communication and the development of the new ones, these three levels of government have been brought very close together. The right approach would be one of cooperative government—how to make these three levels of government work together to the greatest point of efficiency for the people of the country.

MR. KRUEGER: One of the ways of doing that would be to subordinate completely the city and county and state governments to the national government. Then one gets cooperation. The Fascists have found that out.

Mr. Blucher: Don't we need, then, a determination of what is the function of local government and the function of the federal government? Isn't it the function of the federal government to handle national problems and national issues which cannot properly be handled by the locality? Isn't it the function of the locality to determine what kind of a community it wants to be, to determine what physical requirements are needed to provide the amenities for physical living in the locality, such as sewers and water mains and transportation and streets and recreation and matters of that kind?

Mr. Krueger: I think it's a disgrace to the American cities, and the states, that they didn't take the initiative, for example, on the housing question but rather left it to the federal government. Right now there's another disgrace—it's a smaller one, but it's still disgraceful—on this problem of the provision of day-nursery care for the children of working mothers—a thing that is properly suited to the cities and to the localities. It is a local problem, but they're going to sit around and wait until out of the federal government there come the money and the plans for some kind of a nursery program.

Mr. Wyatt: I agree with you when you say that after all it's the local government that really is at fault. I don't blame Washington for having assumed certain things—I'm speaking again of other than war problems—that ordinarily could be very much better handled by local government. It seems to me that the pattern that we ought to try to maintain even on those matters that are national problems would be this: To have free local enterprise and a strong national pattern, leaving it to the local government not only to administer it and carry it out but to place on it its own emphasis and its own interpretation.

Mr. Blucher: A minute ago you used the phrase "cooperative government." You believe a great deal in having cooperation between all the levels of government. The question I ask is: What do

we mean by "cooperation"? Is "cooperation" a one-way street? Do we mean by "cooperation" that the federal government is to appropriate money for certain purposes and hand it over to the cities in order that the cities may do what they like? I think you will agree that some city and county officials think that that is what is meant by "cooperation."

MR. KRUEGER: If they do, they are going to be disappointed, because I think there's going to be a set of federal standards laid down for the spending of any federal money.

There's another question that we ought to get on to in this discussion.

ANNOUNCER: *Almost every letter to the* ROUND TABLE *this week asks these three questions: What do you think local government can and should do to streamline itself for wartime efficiency? Should efforts to reform local governments be made during the war? When peace comes, how will local governments be affected and what should they do to meet their responsibilities?*

MR. KRUEGER: Any proposals to make on this business of streamlining local government?

MR. WYATT: Yes, I have several.

In the first place, basically, I think we've got to bear in mind that our city, county, state, and national relationship was set up more than a century and a half ago, at a time when we had an awful lot of geography and nothing but the stagecoach and the pony express to hold it together.

Now, instead of tying it together in that way, we have the radio, we have the telephone, we have the fast train and the automobile, and, after the war, we're going to have airplanes in a way that Jules Verne never even dreamed.

It seems to me that we must recognize basically that our local governmental units have not kept pace with the progress of our own inventions. Either we've got to junk our American inventions

or we've got to streamline our government down to a very much smaller set of units.[1]

For example, the announcer said there were a hundred and sixty-five thousand units of local government. Many people think that fifteen thousand units of local government would be ample. In the last ten years we've eliminated only ten thousand units. At the same rate, it would take us a hundred and fifty years to streamline down to the proper number.[2]

MR. KRUEGER: We don't have a hundred and fifty years for that job, because not only local government but democratic government in general will crack up unless we can show more speed than that.

I remember Alice in Wonderland when she had to run fast in order to stay where she was. We haven't been running fast enough to stay where we were on that question.

MR. BLUCHER: I don't think it's going to take a hundred and fifty years. I think that there have been improvements made. I think that they are more important than many people realize. I think that government—local government—has been streamlined and effectively improved.

MR. KRUEGER: In how many cities?

MR. BLUCHER: A great many cities. Take, for instance, the cities that have adopted new, streamlined charters, such as Los Angeles,

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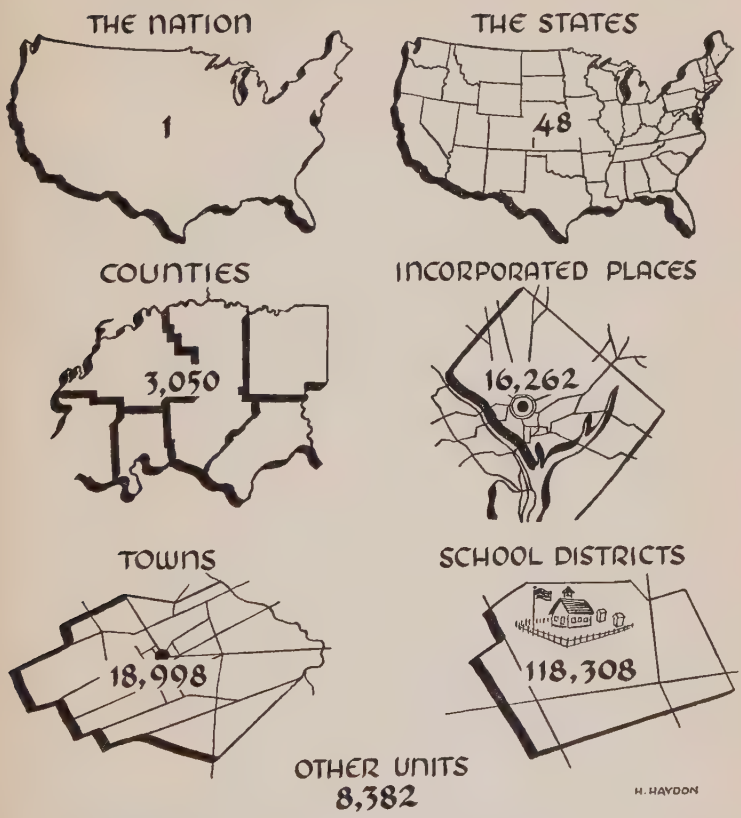
[1] William Anderson, in *The Units of Government* ("Public Administration Service," No. 83 [Chicago: Public Administration Service, 1942]), suggests the following rationalized scheme of local government units for the United States:

City-county (each having a central city of at least 50,000 population)	200
Counties (rural and part rural)	2,100
Incorporated places (including the larger towns in New England)	15,000
Miscellaneous units	500
Total	17,800

For comparison to present setup see pictograph on page 15.

[2] See pictograph on page 6.



* From Anderson, *op. cit.* The units total 165,049.

Baltimore, Detroit, Cincinnati, New York. Take the cities which have improved their personnel by using better methods of hiring men and training them. Take the cities and the states, for instance, that have waived residence requirements in order that they may select the best person available for a job, no matter where he lives.

I think there's been a very great advance in local government throughout the United States.

If I may make one more point: Consider the people who are willing to run for office. A few years ago we used to say that only a politician would be a mayor, but now some of the leading citizens in the United States are serving their cities. I can name a number of them.

MR. KRUEGER: As a matter of fact, I don't object at all to politicians serving as mayors. I want to see these cities and states run on a political basis. That is, if you want to get rid of the politics of maneuver, all right. But what people are trying to do now, it seems to me, the "good government people," is to toss out the baby with the bath. They want to get rid of politics. Politics means policy, and we have to have a policy, and the electorate has to be organized in such a way that a local government can have a policy. Most cities aren't organized that way.

MR. WYATT: In other words, we must not put local government into an administrative vacuum or into a policy vacuum.

It seems to me that a lot of things can be done to take the bugs out of local government, and unless we face that and face it very realistically—and I agree with you that we don't have a century and a half in which to do it—then I think we're going to be in for trouble. After all, if we don't do it, then it's going to be done more and more in Washington.

MR. KRUEGER: Let's take one more example. The division of tax revenues among federal, state, and local governments is a division that was made years and years ago. There has not been in the United States in recent years any serious consideration of whether those different types of tax revenue ought to be reallocated among the local and state and national governments.[3]

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[3] For some years financial demands on local government have been increasing faster than strictly local sources of revenue. From 1930 to 1939, for example,

Mr. Wyatt: That's going on right now. As a matter of fact, the United States Conference of Mayors, the American Municipal Association, and all the other associations of local government are working agressively on that very point.

Incidentally, the federal government is working on the point of the relationship between the federal, state, and local governments on its tax base. I think it's very important because there are two types of things that the federal government is taking over: first, those things which are essentially national, and that's all right, and, second, things that the local governments should do and would do if they had enough money. Therefore, the tax basis is very important as a matter of policy, not just money.

Mr. Blucher: Wouldn't you agree that there's been a change in the tax base already, that it has been done very quietly without our knowing very much about it?

For instance, most of us would think that the city of New York was paying its own way. Actually, it's paying its way only to the extent of 60 per cent of the operating costs. The remainder—40 per cent—comes from the state and national governments.

Mr. Krueger: But the kind of progress and the speed of the progress that seem to satisfy you amazes me. There has not been enough progress on that question to even make a dent on the problem. As a result, the cities and states are increasingly dependent on mere grants-in-aid from the federal government. I don't think that

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the cost of operation and maintenance in cities of 100,000 or more increased 26.4 per cent, while local tax collections increased only 0.75 per cent and the assessed valuations on which they were based decreased 20.1 per cent. These tendencies have been accentuated by the war. Down to 1941 this increasing dislocation between local financial requirements and local revenues was made up by larger and larger grants from state and national governments. From 1930 to 1939 grants increased 273.7 per cent for cities of 100,000 or more. In 1941 they amounted to 24.3 per cent of all local government revenues (see Thomas H. Reed, "Short Rations for Local Government," *National Municipal Review*, September, 1942).

there has been any real rationalization—putting of sense—into the division of tax revenues between federal and local governments.

MR. WYATT: I think that's right. Basically, we haven't adjusted the tax base so that local governments, both cities and states, are getting money as a matter of right instead of as a matter of special permission in special instances. When it can be done permissibly, then it can be done with all kinds of circumscribing conditions.

MR. KRUEGER: Who's blocking that kind of development?

MR. WYATT: I think the principal thing is that the leaders in local city and state government simply have not done their job of aggressive, alert leadership. I think the people are perfectly willing to do it.

As a matter of fact, locally in Louisville, we consolidated, not long back, the three units of health and hospital work. We got to thinking about the fact that we had three of them. We realized that, after all, germs pay no attention to boundary lines and that it was foolish to have this overlapping setup. We therefore consolidated them into one unit so that we now are getting a very much more effective spending of the public money for public health.

MR. BLUCHER: I will agree with both of you on the matter of taxation—that we have no rational taxing policy at the present time. Doesn't that mean, however, that we must get a rational tax policy? Doesn't that mean that if we're going to do anything effective when the war is over, we must do something about the rationalization of the tax policy immediately?

MR. KRUEGER: That's right. One of the things that that means is that income taxes collected either by the federal or by the state government have got to be in part rebated to localities, partly on the basis of need and, perhaps, partly on the basis of population.

Its utterly ridiculous that in the city of Chicago, for example, we should have a couple of dozen different units of government that have jurisdiction over this Mitchell Tower where we're right now

discussing this problem. It's utterly ridiculous that we should have four hundred different governmental units in this one county.

But people don't seem to be doing much about what's ridiculous. What's ridiculous seems to stand.

MR. BLUCHER: I don't want to press the point, because I think that we have other things to discuss, but one ought to remember that a year ago the state of California turned back to the cities a hundred and thirty-one million dollars which the state collected.

I think, however, we ought to have a look at what the situation is going to be when the war is over. What is it going to be? What are we going to do with our cities? What are we going to do with the men and women who come back from the war?

MR. WYATT: There is one point right there that I'd like to bring up. A great many people say, "Well, of course, now that we are in war nothing should be done about revamping our local governmental setups." It seems to me, on the contrary, that just as much as it's a time for daring action and daring thinking and daring planning on the military sphere, it's also a time for daring action in the governmental sphere. We're fighting for democracy; people are dying for it. Certainly we ought to be willing to live for it and to act for it and to do for it.

MR. KRUEGER: I think that's true, but I don't see enough of it being done. I know that some cities are accumulating a reserve of public works plans that they expect to put into operation after the war is over. But how much further than that is any post-war planning being done now by the cities?

MR. BLUCHER: I think a good deal is being done in some places, although not enough and not as much as should be done. Look at the city of New York again. It has a program which a short time ago started out as six hundred million dollars' worth of post-war public works. It has now reached the figure of eight hundred million dollars. New York has gone even further, however. It has appropri-

ated twenty-two million dollars for the actual preparation of the plans so that they will be ready when the war is over.

MR. WYATT: Then, answering Mr. Krueger's statement on a more general basis, through associations, such as I mentioned before—the American Municipal Association, the Conference of Governors, and so forth—there are measures actually now under way to coordinate and to draw together the opinion of the people of different local government levels in order that they may take an aggressive part in leadership in assisting and formulating the national policy on these various things that we have been discussing.

MR. KRUEGER: If anything can be done to get people in the cities and the states to take their local problems more seriously, that's all to the good. My impression is that they have been sitting around and not doing anything very much. It doesn't surprise me at all, therefore, that there is a monopoly on leadership from Washington.

MR. WYATT: I think that's true, but it is also true that people on the local government level are now realizing as never before that the sure way to be a follower, which we have been, is simply to wait for a leader. What is happening in the sphere of local government is that we are awakening to that. We're now undertaking to express the opinions of the people in formulating these national policies in all this post-war planning, which goes far beyond the mere matter of buildings. It goes into the questions of areas and the governmental units and the metropolitan units and the elimination of counties and the elimination of mosquito districts and others that are not necessary in view of modern transportation and communication.

MR. BLUCHER: There are some people who say that we shouldn't do anything at the present time and that we ought to wait until the war is won. Perhaps that is one of the reasons why the cities haven't done more in the way of post-war planning. I believe, how-

ever, that we must immediately get under way with the making of specific plans and with the doing of specific things. We can no longer generalize about the necessity of post-war planning.

Mr. Krueger: That requires having groups of people in the community who have a program on that point. I don't think labor has a program. I don't think that the consumers have a program, and I don't think that the businessmen have much of a program for the rebuilding of cities after the war.

We seem to be agreed that the states' rights issue is pretty much of a phoney and to be disagreed on whether government is on the downgrade locally. I think it is; Wyatt and Blucher both seem to think that it isn't.

But we are agreed that while there has been federal financing of a lot of local activities and the setting of federal standards, there ought to be a maximum of local control preserved over those activities. Whether or not there's going to be that local control and whether there's going to be any local autonomy left in American local government will depend largely on whether these localities begin to show some initiative on questions of social reform.

Around the Round Table . . . .

WALTER BLUCHER, a native of Chippewa Falls, Wisconsin, is now Executive Director of the American Society of Planning Officials. Mr. Blucher has had wide experience in the field of local planning and local government. He was formerly City Planner and Secretary of the Detroit City Planning Commission as well as a former member of the Detroit Housing Commission. He has also served as a consultant for the National Resources Committee, the Bureau of Reclamation, and the Housing Division of PWA. Mr. Blucher was awarded an LL.B degree from the Detroit College of Law. At the present time he is a member of the Illinois State Planning Commission and of the Midwest Regional Planning Commission.

MAYNARD C. KRUEGER, now Assistant Professor of Economics at the University of Chicago, studied both history and international politics before specializing in economics. He completed his undergraduate education at the University of Missouri in 1926. After receiving his A.M. from that institution in 1927, he joined the staff of Albion College as an instructor in history. He spent three years in Europe studying at the universities of Paris, Berlin, and Geneva. From 1928 until he joined the faculty of the University of Chicago in 1932 he taught in the School of Finance and Commerce at the University of Pennsylvania. In addition to his scholarly activity, politics is a major interest. In 1940 he ran as vice-presidential candidate for the Socialist party and is now national chairman of the Socialist party.

WILSON W. WYATT became the mayor of Louisville, Kentucky, on December 1, 1941, and since then has made Louisville an outstanding example of what can be done to streamline city government. Consolidation has been the key to economy and efficiency in Louisville's plans. This idea has been applied in every possible field as the war effort has made new demands on governmental machinery. Several consolidations have been effected with Jefferson County, in which Louisville is located. For instance, a central "priorities chief," whose motto is "how many things can we do without?" is in charge of the purchase of new supplies and materials for the governmental offices

of both the city and the county. Further, a joint city and county Planning and Zoning Commission has been established which will coordinate planning work for the city and county and also for other local agencies, such as the University of Louisville and the Board of Education. Within the city itself another far-reaching step in the way of consolidation was the establishment this year of a civil service commission which handles the work of two former units and also the consolidation of the police and public works activities which were formerly under several separate departments. Mr. Wyatt is a native of Louisville and holds a law degree from the Jefferson School of Law in Louisville.

SUGGESTED READINGS

ARMSTRONG, O. K., "Barriers between the States Must Go!" *Reader's Digest*, April, 1942. *Argues strongly for free trade.*

ASCHER, C. S., "Better Cities after the War," *American City*, June, 1942. *A pamphlet of the National Resources Planning Board is excerpted here.*

BANE, FRANK, "Cooperative Government in Wartime," *Public Administration Review*, spring, 1942. *An analysis of the administration of rationing supports the conclusion that the American system of intergovernmental relations is becoming a cooperative government.*

———, "States and the War Effort," *State Government*, June, 1942.

BARRETT, G. F., "Future of Our States and Cities in Our Governmental Structure," *Vital Speeches*, November 1, 1941. *Warns of the threat of federal government to local government.*

BROMAGE, A. W., and PERKINS, J. A., "Willow Run Produces Bombers and Intergovernmental Problems," *American Political Science Review*, August, 1942.

DIXON, FRANK M., "Federal-State Relationship," *Vital Speeches*, August 1, 1942. *The governor of Alabama warns of the dangers of centralization in government.*

GALLUP, GEORGE, "You Can Run Your Government If—" *Reader's Digest*, July, 1942. *Cites examples of how citizens improved their local government.*

JONES, VICTOR, *Metropolitan Government.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942. *An analysis of the obstacles and solutions to the problem of metropolitan governmental unity.*

LENTY, G. G. (ed.), "Planning for Postwar Reconstruction in Southern California," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, July, 1942.

LUTZ, H. L., "Can Local Government Survive? Federal Taxation and the States," *Vital Speeches*, September 15, 1942. *Points out that the inadequacy of the local tax base makes the local governments dependent upon the federal government.*

MILLARD, W. J., "Keeping and Expanding Our Social and Democratic Values," *American City*, January, 1942.

SMITH, H. D., "Don't Reduce Local Tax Rates during the War," *American City*, July, 1942.

STASSEN, H. E., "Our Democracy and the War," *State Government*, August, 1942.

WOOD, D. M., "American Municipalities in Transition," *Vital Speeches*, November 1, 1941. *Argues that cities are losing the habit of self-government.*

To keep up with discussion and reports on the problems of local government, see the current issues of *American City*, *National Municipal Review*, *Public Management*, *State Government*, and *Public Administration Review*.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

The following questions of wider scope, intended for discussion, are suggested by the broadcast, and answers may be found in the literature on the subject listed in the section "Suggested Readings," found on pages 23–24.

*

1. What do you regard as the challenge to local government? Has local government declined in importance in recent years? Do you agree with Mr. Krueger that local government is on the downgrade?
2. What new problems has the war created for local government? How can the necessity for great national executive power in wartime be fitted into a system of thousands of overlapping local units of government? What is your local government doing to aid in winning the war?
3. Professor Charles E. Merriam has pointed out that "in the modern city there is little left in local affairs of the national party except tradition and an appetite; the lines that divide men in national affairs do not run in the same direction in local questions, and the attempt to force them to do so has been a conspicuous failure in this country." Do you think national political partisanship should be eliminated from local elections? Discuss.
4. What do you think your local government should do to streamline itself and insure greater wartime efficiency? Should such reforms as regionalization, home rule, civil service, housing, consolidation of governmental units, etc., be pushed in wartime? Or should governmental reform wait until after the war?
5. In your opinion what is the relation between democracy and local government? Does the existence of democracy depend on local government? Why?

HOW WELL DO YOU KNOW YOUR LOCAL GOVERNMENT?

1. Is the structure of your local government simple so that it provides for a sufficient concentration of responsibility and insures responsiveness to the people?
2. Are the revenues of your local government adequate for the work which you expect it to perform?
3. Is there adequate provision for the control of the government by the people? Are the elective positions few and outstanding?
4. Are all the regular administrative officials of your local government directly chosen by and responsible to the chief executive authority?
5. Do the units of your local government have an adequate civil service system on a real merit basis?
6. Are the yearly reports issued by your local government intelligible and informational and do they provide a basis for judging the efficiency of your local government?
7. Does your local government have civic organizations which follow closely what is going on and take a constructive part in shaping public policy?
8. Are the newspapers and leaders of public opinion critically constructive about local government, or are they partisan and likely to gloss over what the citizen should know?
9. Do the citizens manifest a live interest in local government? Does a large proportion of the electorate vote at local elections, or do they remain away from the polls? What is the popular attitude between elections?
10. Does your local government take the lead in dealing with crucial problems, or is the federal government supplying the leadership and the money for solving social problems?

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156. *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*
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198. *What Does Rationing Mean?*

1942

199. *Morale: Ours and Theirs*
200. *How To Meet the Menace of Inflation*
201. *Censorship*
202. *How United Are the Americas?*
203. *Are We Overconfident?*
204. *Labor Policies in Wartime*
206. *What Should We Teach Our Youth Now?*
207. *Propaganda: Good and Bad*

No.

208. *Civilian Defense*
209. *Taxes* vs. *Axis*
210. *Women, Work, and the War*
211. *The American Temper*
212. *India*
214. *War Profits*
215. *War and the Family*
216. *Politics in Wartime*
217. *Aliens in Our Midst*
218. *Radio in Wartime*
219. *Children and the War*
220. *Limiting Wartime Incomes*
221. *Education for Freedom*
222. *The United Nations*
223. *China*
224. *The Near East*
225. *Congress Investigates*
226. *Crisis in Shipping*
227. *Must We Hate Our Enemies?*
228. *War Comes to the Farm*
229. *Should We Discuss the Next Peace Now?*
230. *Political Reconstruction of the Post-war World*
231. *Economic Requisites of a Durable Peace*
232. *Challenge of the Four Freedoms*
233. *Health in Wartime*
234. *Wage Policy in Wartime*
235. *The Rubber Crisis*
236. *Farm Parity*
237. *Congress and the War*
238. *Your Taxes*
239. *The Rediscovery of America*
240. *The Press*
241. *Manpower*
242. *The New Congress*
243. *France*
244. *Crisis Administration.* November 22

All Round Table Transcripts Contain Added Factual Material in the Form of Graphs, Maps, Pictographs, Footnotes, Bibliographies, Etc.

ROUND TABLE NETWORK OF 104 STATIONS

2:30 P.M. EASTERN WAR TIME

City	Call Letters	Kilocycles	City	Call Letters	Kilocycles
Allentown, Pa.	WSAN	1470	Lima, Ohio	WLOK	1240
Altoona, Pa.	WFBG	1340	Manchester, N.H.	WFEA	1370
Asheville, N.C.	WISE	1400	Miami, Fla.	WIOD	610
Atlanta, Ga.	WSB	750	New York, N.Y.	WEAF	660
Baltimore, Md.	WBAL	1090	Norfolk, Va.	WTAR	790
Bluefield, W.Va.	WHIS	1440	Philadelphia, Pa.	KYW	1060
Boston, Mass.	WNAC	1260	Pittsburgh, Pa.	KDKA	1020
Buffalo, N.Y.	WBEN	930	Portland, Me.	WCSH	970
Charleston, S.C.	WTMA	1250	Providence, R.I.	WJAR	920
Charlotte, N.C.	WSOC	1240	Raleigh, N.C.	WPTF	680
Cleveland, Ohio	WTAM	1100	Richmond, Va.	WMBG	1380
Columbia, S.C.	WIS	560	Rochester, N.Y.	WHAM	1180
Columbus, Ohio	WCOL	1230	Savannah, Ga.	WSAV	1340
Dayton, Ohio	WING	1410	Schenectady, N.Y.	WGY	810
Detroit, Mich.	WWJ	950	Springfield, Ohio	WIZE	1340
Florence, S.C.	WOLS	1230	Tampa, Fla.	WFLA	970
Grand Rapids, Mich.	WOOD	1300	Toledo, Ohio	WSPD	740
Greenville, S.C.	WFBC	1330	Washington, D.C.	WRC	980
Jacksonville, Fla.	WJAX	930	Wilmington, Dela.	WDEL	1150
Johnstown, Pa.	WJAC	1400	Winston-Salem, N.C.	WSJS	600
Lakeland, Fla.	WLAK	1340	Zanesville, Ohio	WHIZ	1240

1:30 P.M. CENTRAL WAR TIME

Amarillo, Texas	KGNC	1440	Louisville, Ky.	WAVE	970
Birmingham, Ala.	WBRC	960	Madison, Wis.	WIBA	1310
Bismarck, N.D.	KFYR	550	Mankato, Minn.	KYSM	1230
Bristol, Tenn.	WOPI	1490	Memphis, Tenn.	WMC	790
Chicago, Ill.	WMAQ	670	Minneapolis and St. Paul, Minn.	KSTP	1500
Dallas, Texas	WFAA	820	New Orleans, La.	WSMB	1350
Duluth, Minn., and Superior, Wis.	WEBC	1320	Oklahoma City, Okla.	WKY	930
Eau Claire, Wis.	WEAU	1070	Omaha, Neb.	WOW	590
El Paso, Texas	KTSM	1380	Pittsburg, Kans.	KOAM	810
Evansville, Ind.	WGBF	1280	Rochester, Minn.	KROC	1340
Fargo, N.D.	WDAY	970	St. Cloud, Minn.	KFAM	1450
Fort Wayne, Ind.	WGL	1450	St. Louis, Mo.	KSD	550
Fort Worth, Texas	KGKO	570	San Antonio, Texas	WOAI	1200
Hattiesburg, Miss.	WFOR	1400	Shreveport, La.	KTBS	1480
Indianapolis, Ind.	WIRE	1430	Sioux Falls, S.D.	KSOO	1140
Jackson, Miss.	WJDX	1300	Springfield, Mo.	KGBX	1260
Kansas City, Mo.	WDAF	610	Terre Haute, Ind.	WBOW	1230
Kingsport, Tenn.	WKPT	1400	Tulsa, Okla.	KVOO	1170
Laurel, Miss.	WAML	1340	Wichita, Kans.	KANS	1240
Little Rock, Ark.	KARK	920			

12:30 P.M. MOUNTAIN WAR TIME

Albuquerque, N.M.	KOB	1030	Phoenix, Ariz.	KTAR	620
Billings, Mont.	KGHL	790	Pocatello, Ida.	KSEI	930
Boise, Ida.	KIDO	1380	Salt Lake City, Utah	KDYL	1320
Bozeman, Mont.	KRBM	1450	Tucson, Ariz.	KVOA	1290
Butte, Mont.	KGIR	1370	Twin Falls, Ida.	KTFI	1270
Denver, Colo.	KOA	850	Yuma, Ariz.	KYUM	1240
Helena, Mont	KPFA	1240			

11:30 A.M. PACIFIC WAR TIME

Bakersfield, Cal.	KERN	1410	Sacramento, Cal.	KFBK	1530
Fresno, Cal.	KMJ	580	San Francisco, Cal.	KPO	680
Los Angeles, Cal.	KFI	640	San Diego, Cal.	KFSD	600
Medford, Ore.	KMED	1440	Seattle, Wash.	KOMO	950
Portland, Ore.	KGW	620			

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After One Year of War—What Have We Learned?

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A UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO ROUND TABLE BROADCAST

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DECEMBER 6, 1942

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THURMAN ARNOLD, Assistant Attorney General of the United States

WILLIAM BENTON, Vice-president, the University of Chicago

(THIRD SPEAKER TO BE ANNOUNCED)

•

SUGGESTED READINGS

CHURCHILL, WINSTON, "Victory in Africa," *Vital Speeches,* November 15, 1942.

HOWE, QUINCY, "Twelve Things the War Will Do to America," *Harper's,* November, 1942.

"U.S. . . . . A Year of War," *Fortune,* December, 1942.

WALLACE, HENRY A., "Beyond the Atlantic Charter," *New Republic,* November 23, 1942.

WILLKIE, WENDELL L., "Our Reservoir of World Respect and Hope," *Vital Speeches,* November 1, 1942.

[PRINTED IN U·S·A]